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ABSTRACT

This theoretical article based on published literature provides an overview of Mexican American culture and selected Mexican American children's literature that accurately portrays that culture. More specifically, the article focuses on three related topics. First, the article discusses the availability of multicultural literature, evaluation of multicultural literature, and the need for cultural understanding when using multicultural literature. Second, the article explores Mexican American culture through an examination of ideological, social, and material/technical patterns. Third, the article investigates Mexican American children's literature, including topics such as under-representation, content analysis, foundational understandings for development and use of Mexican American children's literature, oral tradition, and 41 selected titles for accurately portraying Mexican American culture. Contains 132 references. (Author/RS)

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Welcome to Mexican American Culture and Authentic Children's Literature

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Paper Presented at the 1995 National Council of Teachers of English Spring Conference

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Running head: MEXICAN AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE

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Abstract

This theoretical article based on published literature provides an overview of Mexican American culture and selected Mexican American children's literature that accurately portrays that culture. More specifically, the article focuses on three related topics. First, a discussion of multicultural literature is provided that examines the availability of multicultural literature, evaluating multicultural literature, and the need for cultural understanding when using multicultural literature. Second, Mexican American culture is explored through an examination of ideological, social, and material/technical patterns. Finally, this article investigates Mexican American children's literature; topics such as under-representation, content analysis, foundational understandings for development and use of Mexican American children's literature, oral tradition, and selected titles for accurately portraying Mexican American culture are provided.

Welcome to Mexican American Culture and Authentic Children's Literature

Miller-Lachman (1992) offered an overview of multicultural book publishing that contained four historical periods. The first of those periods, "before the 1960s", was marked by an under-representation and misrepresentation of people of color. Because the focus of literature during this period was on middle-class white America, people of color usually appeared only as minor characters cast in stereotypical roles.

The 1960s and 1970s, a second period mentioned by Miller-Lachman (1992), was characterized as a time in which the distortions and omissions of previous years were highlighted. Nancy Larrick's (1965) study, "The All-White World of Children's Books", published in the Saturday Review was influential in raising the level of awareness about the portrayal of African Americans in children's literature. Larrick surveyed 5,200 books published by 63 mainstream publishers and found that African American characters appeared in only 6.7% of those books. Larrick's article, in addition to the civil rights movement, helped increase funds for schools and libraries and motivated publishers to add more books about persons of color. As a result of these influences, many authors and illustrators of color were published for the first time.

Miller-Lachman (1992) described the 1980's as "Two Steps Back" (p. 7). For a variety of reasons, publishers were less likely to publish books by and about people of color. Myers (1985) reasoned that the decline in political activism, a conservative backlash, and government funding reductions were responsible for the decline.

The later parts of the 1980's and early 1990's, what might be considered a fourth period in the history of multicultural book publishing, saw a "revitalization that went beyond even the gains of the 1970's" (Miller-Lachman, 1992, p. 8). This change was brought about by major demographic changes, new writers of color, and the success of small presses. Moore-Kruse in an article by Madigan (1993) cautioned that

Some might say that literature by and about people of color is flooding the market today. This is simply not the case. There are 65,000-70,000 children's books in print, and in the last two or three years there have been 4.000-5,000 children's books published each year. Only a small percentage of those books can be classified as multicultural. (p. 169-170)

Martinez and Nash (1990) estimated that less than five to eight percent of the approximately 5,000 children's books published yearly can be classified as multicultural.

Teacher Familiarity with Titles Published

Thompson (1990) used a questionnaire to survey 50 elementary teachers about their familiarity with and use of multicultural books in their literature-based classrooms. Of the 50 teachers surveyed, 30 taught in K-5 inner city classrooms and 20 were classroom teachers completing requirements for the Masters in Reading or Library Science at Old Dominion University. The teachers responded to a selection of multicultural titles by circling one of six statements on a Likert-type scale: (a) have used in classroom, (b) have recommended for recreational reading, (c) have recommended for research, reference, or resource, (d) have used as a read-aloud by teacher, (e) are familiar with title but have not used the book in my classroom, and (f) not aware of the book (p. 6). The results of the study indicated that the majority of the teachers "were not familiar with multi-ethnic literature with the exception of a limited number of African American titles. Even with a degree of familiarity, uses of the books were mainly limited to the 'recreational reading' and 'read aloud' categories " (p. 9).

Evaluating Multicultural Literature

Criteria

The evaluation of multicultural titles has been a concern for a number of years. There is general agreement that the same standards should be used for evaluating a multicultural book as for any other book (Beilke & Sciara, 1986; Camarata, 1991; Galda & Cox, 1991; Kruse, 1992). The Council on Interracial Books for Children (CIBC) published a widely used set of criteria that has been adapted or expanded upon (e.g., Caldwell-Wood, 1991; Jenkins & Austin, 1987; Miller-Lachman, 1992; Vernon & McDowell, 1990).

Miller-Lachman (1992) published a lengthy annotated bibliography of multicultural titles written since 1975. The criteria for evaluation in Our Family, Our Friends, Our World included, but is not limited to the following concerns: (a) general accuracy in terms of errors and omissions, (b) stereotyping of characters, plot development, theme, setting, language, and illustrations, (c) appropriateness of language according to age group, terminology, and dialect, (d) author's perspective in creating the work, (e) currency of information and interpretations, (f) sensitivity to the emotional, intellectual, and developmental levels of the readers, (g) integration of cultural information into the story, (h) balance and multidimensional presentation of issues, and (i) accuracy and currency of illustrations.

Reviews Not Always Well Informed

Unfortunately, even with exhaustive criteria, multicultural books don't always receive well-informed evaluations because few reviewers of color are employed by the book review media (Kruse, 1992). Without full understanding of a culture, Kruse noted that reviewers easily miss the "distinctive cultural content of a book or the erroneous representation of cultural content" (p. 32).

Need for Cultural Understanding

Current Knowledge Base About Culture in Relation to Literacy

Barrera (1992) pointed out that the addition of multicultural titles alone will not bring "multiculturalization" of the literature-based curriculum; this occurs only when teachers have a theoretical understanding of culture and its relationship to literature and literacy. According to Barrera, teachers lack this knowledge because teachers education programs have historically emphasized the psychological foundations of learning rather than the cultural and social dimensions.

Barrera (1992) identified three issues resulting from the "culture gap" of teachers. First, teachers often select program materials "dominated by themes and characters that often do not reflect the faces, experiences, and histories of many of the children" (p. 230). Second, when cultural aspects are highlighted within the school setting, only surface aspects are stressed - - food, holidays, songs, dance, and the presentation of a few historic figures. Generally speaking, little is presented from the rich body of oral and written literature or from popular culture. Third, teachers assume a uniformity in student communication patterns and that those patterns are the same as the teacher. The effect of this assumption is that the patterns of the teacher and the text are valued more highly than the language and culture of the student.

Suggestions for Developing Cultural Awareness

Barrera (1992) suggested a framework of knowledge about culture and cultural aspects related to literacy. The domains of this knowledge base, cultural, cross-cultural, and multicultural, are areas which Barrera encouraged teachers to explore and better understand.

By cultural dimension, Barrera (1992) refers to how one understands culture. Barrera suggested that culture "consists of the understandings, or knowledge, shared by the members of a group of people" (p. 233). She also presented culture as ever-changing, critical in how one shapes meaning, and not always at a conscious level. To

better explore and grow in the cultural dimension, Barrera suggested that teachers "become consciously aware of their own personal identities and cultural backgrounds, not only their past experiences and histories but their present attitudes, values, and beliefs" (p. 239). Valuable experiences might also include viewing, interpreting, and discussing videotaped interactions from the point of view of different cultures or exploring cultural assumptions with a cross-cultural expert.

The dimension of cross-cultural knowledge refers to viewing literacy as "a set of practices within a culture that exist to meet the needs of the culture" (Barrera, 1992, p. 235). Barrera contends that practices in literacy and literature vary across cultures. To understand this knowledge area, it was recommended that teachers become ethnographers of the surrounding school community to determine different forms of literacy and literature. Literature study groups could then be formed to help teachers discuss the literature closest to them and then more distant.

The third knowledge dimension, multicultural, pertains to the idea that culture involves relations of power and that teaching of literacy is shaped by cultural forces (Barrera, 1992). The power of culture may be expressed in how literature is defined, who creates and presents literature, who shares and mediates literature, and who decides what are acceptable responses to literature. Teachers can better understand the multicultural knowledge dimension in a variety of ways. Barrera (1992) suggested that teachers: (a) conduct a critical inventory of literacy programs within their own classroom, (b) investigate policies within their school and district, written and unwritten, that relate to language, literacy, and literature, and (c) become familiar with critical reviews of literature that address issues of racism and bias.

A number of other experts in the field of multicultural children's literature have offered suggestions for developing cultural awareness on the part of teachers (e. g., Barrera, Liguori, & Salas, 1992; Brynes & Kiger, 1992; Caldwell-Wood & Mitten, 1991).

Culture

An understanding of the Mexican American experience is best realized through an examination of the significant historical events shaping lives and the cultural knowledge surrounding those lives. This portion of the article focuses on a description of Mexican American culture.

The term "culture" as been defined in a number of ways. In fact, an entire book is devoted to the varied definitions (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1963). For purposes of this

discussion, I have adopted the following definition:

> A culture is a historically developed, patterned way of life which includes beliefs and ideologies; formally and informally established interrelationships between persons and groups; and material goods and technologies, all of which are systematically related so as to form an integral whole. (Dobbert, 1982, p. 10)

As Dobbert (1982) describes, this definition treats "the conceptual, ideological aspects of human life, its social aspects, and material aspects as equally important parts of a whole" (p. 11). The definition also reflects several key understandings about culture: (a) culture is not just customs and traditions (Quinn & Holland, 1987), (b) cultural knowledge is continually being made and remade (Bruner, 1986), and (c) culture is learned and social; it is not created by one individual (Bruner, 1986).

As culture is discussed, one must continually remember that the Mexican American population is heterogeneous, composed of numerous subgroups "manifesting different experiences and different adaptations and strategies to life in the United States" (Matute-Bianchi, 1990, p. 210).

Ideological Patterns

Mexican American ethnicity/identity.

The nature of Mexican American ethnicity/identity is explored within a four-part framework in this discussion. This framework includes: Mexican American identity as a member of the larger Hispanic group; a typology of ethnic orientation within the Mexican American population; the identity of Mexican American men, women, and children, and the self-identifiers used by the Mexican American population.

To understand Mexican American ethnicity/identity an examination of the Mexican American as a Hispanic is helpful. Padilla (1994) contends that when a Mexican American group interacts with one additional Spanish-speaking group, then Hispanic ethnic consciousness is expressed. This multigroup behavior "transcends the boundaries of the individual national and cultural identities of the different Spanish speaking populations and emerges as a distinct group identification and affiliation" (p. 294). Hispanic ethnic behavior speaks of a concern for and loyalty to the larger body of Spanish language speakers. According to Padilla, "the Hispanic-conscious person sees himself as Hispanic sometimes, and as a Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Cuban, and the like at other times" (p.294).

Certain basic Hispanic cultural values have been identified in the literature.

Certainly not all of these values are generalizable to the entire Mexican American population, but an examination of these values is helpful in the understanding of issues related to identity/ethnicity.

The research of Keefe and Padilla (1987) is significant in understanding Mexican American ethnicity in that they were able to develop an empirically based conceptualization of what it means to be Mexican American. Their research lead to the development of measures of acculturation and ethnic identification. The findings from two measures, Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty , provide a valuable description of Mexican American ethnicity. Internal cultural variations, changes over time, and generational differences are noted.

The data collection phase of the Keefe and Padilla (1987) study was conducted over a period of twenty-eight months in the three California cities of Santa Barbara, Oxnard, and Santa Paula. These sites were selected because of the "variation in history of settlement, economic base, and population size" (Keefe & Padilla, 1987, p. 3). The first phase of the study involved administering a questionnaire with 123 variables to 666 Mexican Americans and 425 non-Spanish surname individuals. The questionnaire related to ethnic differences in family structure, social support, and cultural background. Phase two of the study involved an in-depth interview of 372 Mexican Americans and 163 Anglos. These interviews focused on the themes of family and ethnicity. The third phase of the research included in-depth case studies of 24 Mexican Americans and 22 Anglo Americans.

What Keefe and Padilla (1987) learned from this study is that of three models representing changing ethnicity--acculturation and assimilation, internal colonialism, and ethnic pluralism, the model best representing the Mexican American population is that of ethnic pluralism.

Traditional thinking holds that the acculturation-assimilation model is operative with the Mexican American population. Basically, in this model acculturation is said to result "when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). Assimilation "refers to the social, economic, and political integration of an immigrant or ethnic minority group member into mainstream society" (Keefe & Padilla, 1987, p. 18). For assimilation to occur, the minority member must have acculturated to some degree and have received acceptance by the dominant culture. The findings of the Keefe and Padilla study

indicate that "native-born Mexican Americans acculturate, but it is selective; and some ethnic traits, especially the maintenance of family ties, are sustained and surprisingly even strengthened from generation to generation" (Keefe & Padilla, 1987, p. 189). Social assimilation does occur, but only within impersonal and formal secondary relations (Keefe & Padilla, 1987).

The internal colonialism model postulates that complete acculturation will occur along with segregation and domination by the majority culture (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). The findings of the study were not consistent with this model.

The third model representing changing ethnicity, ethnic pluralism, as described by Smith (1969), involves the dimensions of cultural, social, and structural pluralism. Cultural pluralism refers to maintaining a separate culture, social pluralism involves maintaining separate social relations, and structural pluralism refers to receiving economic, social, or political rewards within the minority culture's own institutions. Although Keefe and Padilla (1987) feel this model best represents their findings, they suggest a third model--neo-pluralism. "This model would require thinking in terms of a multitude of dimensions, with the possibility of change occurring in each dimension at a different rate and possessing the potential of moving in more than one direction" (Keefe & Padilla, 1987, p. 191).

Perhaps the most interesting findings of the Keefe and Padilla (1987) study relate to the typology of ethnic orientation that emerged from their data. A cluster analysis of cases was conducted that took into account scores from the Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty measures. Five well defined homogeneous clusters were identified.

Type I individuals, comprising 25% of the population sample, are characterized by high scores on Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). These respondents are decidedly unacculturated and identify as Mexicans with Mexican culture. They are also characterized as being first generation (most living in the United States less than 15 years), lower class (57% are laborers), less educated (74% with less than nine years of education), less socio-economically mobile, and likely to live in a barrio (73%).

Type II individuals have high scores on Cultural Awareness but only average scores on Ethnic Loyalty (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). This shift toward a positive attitude toward American culture and people, in addition to a lessened perception of, is the primary difference between Type I and II respondents. Type II individuals tend to be immigrants and constitute 14% of the population. The Type II individual, like the Type

I, is lower class (48% laborers), less educated, and a barrio resident. Keefe and Padilla refer to Type I and II respondents as "Mexican Ethnics".

Type III individuals have average scores on Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). They represent 35% of the population sampled. Some consider members of this group to be "bicultural" but it is "significant that they retain their ethnic identity and are conscious of their Mexican heritage" (p. 55). Type III members are likely to be second generation, better educated (most with at least nine years of education, one-third to one-half graduating from high school) and of higher socioeconomic status (20% head of household with white collar occupation). "Cultural Blends", as Keefe and Padilla refer to this type,

> ...participate selectively in both cultural orientations, but they are not equally proficient in both cultures. They recognize that they are not Mexicans, and they do not identify as Mexican, noting, for example, their lack of fluency in Spanish or their non acceptance of some Mexican cultural practices. At the same time, Cultural Blends draw a clear distinction between themselves and Anglos, and although they appear comfortable in many aspects of American life, they have many ethnically based preferences that keep them separated from Anglos. (p. 96).

Type IV individuals, as characterized by Keefe and Padilla (1987), have moderately low scores on Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty. Members of this group, representing 21% of the population, tend to be second generation. They have generally experienced more socioeconomic mobility, higher levels of education (51% graduating from high school), and higher occupational status (30% white collar professions). Type IV individuals are more likely to be Protestant (18%) and to live outside the barrio (68%). Keefe and Padilla use the term "Emerging Americans" to describe this ethnic type.

Type V individuals, comprising only 5% of the population, scored very low on Cultural Awareness and moderately low on Ethnic Loyalty. According to Keefe and Padilla (1987) they are "highly Anglicized and possess very little knowledge of or identity with Mexican culture" (p. 55). Type V individuals are likely to be third or later generation, slightly better educated (58% high school graduation rate), and to live outside the barrio (68%). Interestingly, the slightly higher educational levels don't necessarily result in higher occupational status (26% white collar professions), income levels, or socioeconomic mobility. The term "New Americans" is used by Keefe and

Padilla to describe this group which is the most knowledgeable about American values and customs.

As Keefe and Padilla (1987) note, in some ways gradual acculturation does occur. Specifically, they cite a lessened orientation toward Mexico as a homeland, decreased passing on of folktales and folk remedies, and a gradual adoption of American cultural traits. Acculturation, on the other hand, is not noted in many Mexican cultural patterns. For example, Spanish is still spoken to some degree by 96% of the individuals, 81% eat Mexican food on a daily basis, 89% remain Roman Catholic, and strong family ties are maintained by even Type V individuals.

The Mexican American population is currently estimated at 14,628,000 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1994a). This represents 5.8% of the estimated total U. S. population. Mexican Americans comprise 64.3% of the Hispanic origin population; the remaining Hispanic population consists of the following groups: 13.4 % Central and South American, 10.6% Puerto Rican, 7.0% Other Hispanic, and 4.7% Cuban. The identities of Mexican American men, women, and children, although similar to each other, are also quite different. Traditionally, men have been considered the dominant force in the Mexican American family system because of their role as principal provider. Earlier research conducted by Madsen (1964) and Rubel (1966) supported the notion of total male control within the family. More recent research, however, conducted by Williams (1990) failed to fully support this stereotypical view. The ethnographic data of Williams, gathered in 1985-1987 from the same region in which Madsen and Rubel conducted their fieldwork, indicated that the pattern of male dominance had been exaggerated in the earlier research reports of Madsen and Rubel. Williams' data, derived primarily from in-depth interviews and participant observation of 43 couples in Austin and Corpus Christi, Texas, led her to conclude that patriarchy has been undermined to some degree in the working and professional classes in urban centers. Williams did note however, that male dominance still persists and that "husbands continue to wield more power than their wives" (p. 139).

To understand the Mexican American female identity, one must consider the concept of being "twice a minority" Melville, 1980, p. 2). According to Melville, this refers to being a societal member where one is subordinated for being a women and for being the member of an ethnic minority group. As a result of being "twice a minority", females typically possess even less power and status than their Mexican American male counterpart (Vasquez, 1984). Vasquez concludes that because of this diminished

status, a Mexican American woman "is likely to question her own abilities and appearance, and to have low expectations for entry into powerful positions in the society" (p. 271). If a Mexican American woman does experience some success in the larger society, Vasquez contends that feelings of nonentitlement may dissipate more slowly than for someone not experiencing multiple oppression.

While not all Mexican American women are negatively affected by subordination for being female and a member of an ethnic minority group, most do experience some forms of psychological conflict and frustration as a result of this oppression (Vasquez, 1984). Vasquez also noted that even though some women develop coping strategies to deal with these conflicts, others experience "debilitating guilt, ambivalence, contradictory behavior, and depression" (p. 272).

Changes within the larger American society have also had an impact on Mexican American female identity. The Report of the President's Commission on Mental Health (1978), identified Hispanic women as being at high risk for developing emotional problems because of the dramatic contrast in Hispanic sex roles and those of American women's roles in general. The acculturation process, according to the report, produces more anxiety in Hispanic women than men because women make greater changes to establish roles within the dominant culture.

An additional change in American society is the dramatic increase in the proportion of women, including Hispanics, entering the workforce since the 1940s. Roberts and Roberts (1982) suggest that the structure of the Mexican American family may be changing in a manner similar to the average American family. One of those changes, documented in research conducted by Baca Zinn (1980) and Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970) indicates that as women move into the labor force they begin to need more egalitarianism, mutuality, and independence in marital relationships.

For those few Mexican American women entering professional level occupations, there may be additional unique dilemmas (Melville, 1980). Gray (1980) concluded after reviewing several studies that professional women in general tend to have higher divorce rates than male professionals and the general population. Gándara (1982), working exclusively with Mexican American women holding J. D., M. D., or Ph. D. degrees, found that only 10 of the 17 women involved in the study were married and that only six had children. The perception that Mexican American males are threatened by female achievements was confirmed to a large degree by González (1992) in her work at Stanford University. In this study, high achieving Chicana women reported

psychological distress as measured by stress related to feelings of loneliness, lack of dating partners, and sense of isolation from a larger ethnic community.

Gándara (1982) and Vasquez (1982) both documented the powerful effects a strong female role model and a mother's encouragement have on Mexican American women's success in higher education.

According to U. S. Bureau of the Census (1994a), the median age of the Mexican American population (24.6) is younger than the non-Hispanic population (34.4). Children under 18 years of age comprise 37.5% of the Mexican American population compared with 25.6% of the non-Hispanic population. The identity of Mexican American children is shaped to a large degree by the cultural patterns found within the Mexican American family. Even though these families are diverse and experiencing substantial change, several researchers have identified characteristic family patterns and values that help to explain identity formation of Mexican American children. Ramirez and Arce (1981) found that the primacy of the family and extended kinship ties continue to be strong factors even for families three or more generations removed from Mexico. Compadres (godparents) and the extended family are often relied on for emotional and social support, child rearing, financial support, and problem solving. To maintain this kinship network, values of cooperation are encouraged. LeVine and Padilla (1980) stated "according to the traditional Hispanic values of personalismo, it is not ability but, rather, goodness and the quality of personal relationships that are important in life" (p. 34). A Mexican social value known as bien educado also helps to maintain the kinship network. This value refers specifically to behavioral expectations of children that include politeness, respect, familialism, and cooperation in relations with others (Knight, Bernal, Garza, & Cota, 1993).

Ramirez (1989) presented a descriptive picture of many Mexican American homes during the formative child rearing years. He contends that it's the existence of children that validate the marriage. El amor de madre, motherly love, according to Ramirez, is considered a much greater force than wifely love. As a result of this love, the home is usually nurturing, protective, and child centered . Both parents tend to be permissive with young children and even though there is an emphasis on good behavior, a lessened attention is given to skill attainment and self-reliance.

As children enter latency and adolescence, they are often assigned tasks such as housework, child care, cooking, and errands (Ramirez, 1989). Children, because they are often the best English speakers, frequently become "the social brokers between their

parents and the outside world" (Alvarez, 1994, p. 149). The father, during the latency and adolescent phase, generally assumes the authoritarian role of providing discipline and expecting obedience. The mother, who generally adopts a quite different role, continues to provide protective nurturance. This role differentiation can result in a more accessible mother who often serves as mediator between father and child. According to Ramirez, differences in sex-role socialization become especially evident during adolescence. The female is likely to remain close to home and to be protected. The male is likely to join with others of his age in groups known as palomillas. "Through such associations, he gains knowledge and experience in holding his own with other males" (Murillo, 1971, pp. 104-105).

The question of exactly how and when a Mexican American child's identity is shaped has been explored by several researchers. Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, and Cota (1990) concluded that Mexican American children appear to correctly group themselves according to ethnicity at between seven and eight years of age. An understanding that ethnicity is permanent across time, settings, and transformation appears to develop as children become older than age seven. The work of Knight, Cota, and Bernal (1993) suggests that "what children are taught about the ethnic culture will determine, in part, whether cultural values are transmitted to children, and what values children internalize" (p. 305).

The diversity of the Mexican American population is reflected in another very simple measure--the various designations used by Mexican Americans themselves. With a belief that much can be learned about the identity of a cultural group by their self-identifiers, the following labels as suggested by Melville (1994) are offered.

Hispanic: first used by Spanish colonist in New Mexico. It is the current designation in the Federal Register to identify people in the United States whose familial origins were in a Spanish or Portuguese speaking country of Latin America or the Caribbean.

Tejano/a: Texas was an independent republic from 1836 to 1846. Among its citizens were many "Hispanic" residents who could trace their ancestry back hundreds of years in Texas. They, like the Hispanics of New Mexico, were identified as Mexicans for only a generation, dating from 1821. They felt and many still feel that Texas (Tejas) was/is their native land.

Manito/a: A shortened form of "hermanito/a" (brother/sister), it is a familiar designation for natives of New Mexico, where the lay fraternities founded by early Franciscan missionaries extended the designation to neighbors.

Californio/a: The early Spanish settlers of California (Hot Oven Land) and their descendants called themselves Californios to identify with the land of their settlement. However, this name is no longer used.

Raza: This term was popularized during Mexico's 1910 Revolution and comes from José Vasconcelos' idea of La Raza Cósmica, the blending of the best characteristics of Indian and Spanish heritage in Mexico. It is often used in preference to Latino or Hispanic to group people who are mestizo.

Mexican American: This name, with or without a hyphen, has been used to designate those whose families were already settled in the territories taken from Mexico in the Mexican-American War of 1846-48, and were given the choice of remaining in their homeland as United States citizens or of being deported to Mexico.

Chicano/a: In the late 1960s, this name was adopted by militant Mexican American civil rights advocates. They chose a label that had a pejorative, lower class connotation within the Mexican American community. There have been a variety of suggestions regarding the origin of the name, but many organizers of the civil rights movement believed that the term was a shortened form of "Mechicano" or "Mexicano," which emphasizes a mestizo identity (from the Mexica Indians).

Mexicano/a: In Texas, people of Mexican ancestry, even though they are English-speaking citizens, use this self-referent as a statement of ethnic pride, in response to the denigrating label "Meskin" used by some Anglos.

Latino/a: This is probably the preferred generalized self-identifier used by people of Latin American origins when they speak of themselves as a generalized group. It includes peoples who are indigenous to Latin America and excludes those whose ancestors came to the United States directly from Spain or Portugal. In California, it is frequently the label of choice due to the diversity of its Latin American population. (p. 91-92)

Religion.

To understand the ideological patterns of the Mexican American culture, an examination of commonly held religious beliefs is useful. Thomas Weaver (1994) stated,

"to be Hispanic is to be Catholic" (p. 24). According to a recent survey (Kosmin, 1991) 65.8 percent of all Hispanics self identify as being Catholic. This same study identified the Baptist denomination as representing the second largest number of adherents and the Pentecostal Church as the third largest denomination selected in the survey by Hispanics.

Morales (1994) noted that the Catholic Church "provides stability by continuing to reinforce the norms and the values that people have transplanted from their homelands" (p. 194). A number of sacraments, rituals, associations, groups, and festivals continue to attract Hispanics to the Catholic Church (Morales, 1994).

The ritual ceremonies associated with birth, baptism, and death all support "familial strengthening and the creation of a non-kin support system (Weaver, 1994, p. 25). This support system, known as compadrazgo, is created by the adoption of godparents for the marriage and another pair of godparents upon the birth of a child. Both sets of godparents are selected from a group of relatives and friends (Weaver, 1994).

The values and norms of Hispanics are also supported through associations called cofradias (Morales, 1994). These brotherhoods, sisterhoods, or fraternities encourage active membership in the church. Activities often include cleaning the church and organizing processions to honor a particular saint; often that celebration surrounds a saint representing the organizers respective country.

The language factor "also plays an important role in building more of an integrated sense of community among Hispanic people at the local level (Morales, 1994, p. 196). Even though Hispanic participation as clergy is limited, the church does draw Spanish language speakers together thereby creating a sense of unity.

A number of charismatic groups, similar to those in the Pentecostal Church, have been formed by the Catholic Church" (Morales, 1994). Several programs such as Curisillo and Luz y Vida have focused on developing Latino leadership that serves to build spiritual awareness in the Latino community (Doyle & Scarpetta, 1989).

In addition to reliance on the Catholic Church, curanderismo, or faith healing, is an adaptive technique that has emerged among segments of the Mexican America population to meet community needs (Chávez y Gallegos, 1990). Specifically, curanderismo refers to the treatment of a variety of illnesses with a combination of psycho social intervention, herbs, and religion (Chesney, Thompson, Guevara, Vela, & Schottstaedt, 1980).

This health care system dates back to Spanish colonial Mexico and is practiced "more in the mountain communities of New Mexico than elsewhere, but every town or city of any size in the Southwest United States has its curanderos, curers" (Morales, 1994, p. 198). Curanderismo is also found in urban regions such as Los Angeles and basically wherever a Mexican American population is found (Weaver, 1994). Chesney et al. (1991), in a study of folk medicine, found that between 70% and 80% of their sample believed in folk illnesses and folk healing. The researchers did document a stronger belief in curanderismo among those in a lower socioeconomic level.

According to Morales (1994), the curandera leads a spiritual life and is generally the most respected person in the community. To become a curandera (curer) involves a long period of apprenticeship.

> The novices, (called sobadoras), first learn massage and diagnosis. As they learn more about herbs and medicines about parturition, they are called parteras, midwives, or curanderas. By this time, most are older women or grandmothers. Men specializing in the treatment of witch-caused maladies are known as arbolarios, but there are some women who also fill this role. (p. 198)

Practitioners of curanderismo, a medico-religious system, contend that it's not the actual medication that's important, but rather its the belief that God can help in the cure (Weaver, 1994).

There are three beliefs commonly held by curanderos. The first belief concerns natural and supernatural forces (Krajewski-Jaime, 1991). According to this belief, illness can be caused by natural forces such as moonlight, eclipse, cold, heat, air, wind, sun, and water (Abril, 1977) . Mal aire (bad air) is an example of this belief. Clark (1970) describes pain, cramps, and facial twitching in children and adults as commonly attributed to mal aire. Another belief related to natural forces is the perception that illness can be caused by going from a warm room into the cold, especially if an individual has awakened from a nap or has taken a warm bath (Abril, 1977). In terms of the supernatural, some Mexican Americans believe that some illnesses are caused by the "evil eye" (Krajewski-Jaime, 1991).

> If someone with strong vision admires someone else's child without actually touching him or her, the child may fall ill--the evil power is transmitted through the gaze of that person. Symptoms of this malady include insomnia, aches and pains, excessive crying, fever, severe headache, and restlessness. The simplest

treatment for evil eye is to have the person who exerted the influence touch the child to break any possible evil bond. (p. 161)

A second belief held by curanderos is that of the need for a balance between hot and cold. According to Ripley (1986), a state of health is preserved by demanding a balance between hot and cold and maintaining a strong defense against the entry of evil. Within this belief system, diseases are considered either hot or cold and the foods and herbs that help cure those diseases are likewise classified as hot or cold (Abril, 1977). For example, hot foods such as chili or chicken soup may be given for a "cold" disease such as pneumonia or a common cold.

Viewing the emotions as potential causal agents of disease is a third belief common to curanderos. Mal del susto and espanto are the two most common emotionally based illnesses (Krajewski, 1991). Susto (fright) is generally considered the result of a traumatic experience resulting from "anything from witnessing an accident or death to a simple scare in the night" (p. 162). Espanto, a form of susto, is felt to be caused by supernatural powers. Chesney et al. (1980) cite potential symptoms that include anorexia, insomnia, hallucinations, weaknesses, and painful sensations. "Treatment by the folk healer includes having the patient lie down on the floor with arms outstretched in the position of a cross. Sweeping the body with branches, herbs, and prayers, she coaxes the lost spirit to reenter the victim's body" (Krajewski, 1991, p. 162).

Social Patterns

Family.

An increasing amount of evidence related to the Mexican American family system has been accumulated over the past two decades. This cultural and statistical evidence is helpful in defining the characteristics of families, determining family patterns and trends, and identifying changes in family structure.

According to the U. S. Bureau of the Census (1994a) data collected in 1993, marriage is the norm within Mexican American culture; 57.1% of Mexican Americans over the age of 15 are married. This figure compares with a 58.3% marriage rate for the non-Hispanic population. According to the same census data, the divorce rate of Mexican Americans (6.1%) is lower than that of the non-Hispanic population (8.6%). Bean and Tienda (1987), contend that marital disruption, even though appearing less for Mexican Americans, is comparable to the non-Hispanic population when the rate of marital separation and divorce is considered for Mexican Americans. U. S. Bureau of

the Census (1994a) data indicate that Mexican American men are more likely to marry within their own cultural group (85.6%) than are Mexican American women (82.8%).

An important defining characteristic of Mexican American families is their large size. The mean number of persons living in a Mexican American household in 1993 was 4.01, compared with 3.08 for the non-Hispanic population (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1994a). Baca Zinn (1994), referring to the relatively large Mexican American family size, argued that "Mexican family lifestyles often reflect adaptive responses to social and economic conditions" (p. 166). In other words, Baca Zinn believes that economic forces in the larger society have significant impact on Mexican American family patterns. U. S. Bureau of the Census (1994a) data indicate that Mexican American households contained a married couple 72.3% of the time, a female householder with no husband present 19.4% of the time, and a male householder with no wife present 8.4% of the time. In comparison, the non-Hispanic household was comprised of married couples 78.8% of the time, female householder with no husband present 17.0% of the time, and a male householder with no wife present 4.2% of the time.

Weaver (1994) draws an important distinction between a household (la casa) and the family (la familia). According to Weaver, a household includes people who live together and "is the unit of genetic reproduction, economic production, sharing and consumption" (p. 22). The family (la familia) "is a system of kinship affiliation, one in which people are related on a real or fictive kinship basis and distinguished from non-kin" (p. 22). La familia members may be located in another country. At times, a small version of la familia may be found within a household.

Familism is considered a cultural pattern of the Mexican American population (Alvirez & Bean, 1976). In fact, the ideal of la familia is "that it is the central and most important institution in life" (Alvarez, 1994, p. 149). Alvarez noted that the Mexican American family institution has survived for several reasons: the isolation of southwestern settlements, close geographical proximity to Mexico, residential segregation of Mexican American communities and neighborhoods, and a fierce pride in socio-cultural institutions.

Compadrazgo, one feature of familism, is usually formed at the time of a child's baptism. Parents choose padrinos (godparents) from close friends or relatives (Alvarez, 1994). According to Alvarez, "the strongest relationship in compadrazgo is that between the child's parents and godparents, who call each other copadres (literally co-parents)"

(p. 150). At times, the compadre/comadre relationship may take on greater importance than sibling relationships. Compadres are expected to provide mutual help and to be available in times of need and crisis (Alvarez, 1994).

Parentesco, a second feature of familism, is a kinship sentiment used by Mexican Americans to incorporate kin and non-kin into family networks (Alvarez, 1994). Parentesco has been used primarily by Mexican immigrants and refers to a support network needed for successful settlement in the United States (Alvarez, 1994). Some investigators (e. g., Samora & Lamanna, 1975) have documented that help is often provided for locating housing and employment. Typically, parentesco is extended to new immigrants who share a common geographic origin (Alvarez, 1994). Mines (1984) noted that some regions of the United States and Mexico may have a continual back and forth flow for three or four generations.

Confianza (trust) is important to the institutions of compadrazgo and parentesco; in a sense, confianza is the underlying factor that builds these relationships (Alvarez, 1994). "To have confianza with an individual is not just to regard that person with trust, but it signifies a relationship of special sentiment and importance involving respect and intimacy" (Alvarez, 1994, p. 151).

La familia continues to change. One evidence of this change is a greater preference among many Mexican Americans born in the United States for the nuclear family and a separate household rather than for the extended family (Alvarez, 1994). This trend, however, does not indicate an abandoning of extended family ties (Alvarez, 1994). Alvarez observed that extended families still exist but that "the extended family living in single households is generally a transitory stage in family and household development" (p. 150).

In recent years "compadrazgo has lost much of its reciprocal obligatory and mutual help functions, and when it is still practiced this is sometimes only symbolic and expressive of ethnic pride and identity" (Alvarez, 1994, p. 164). Williams (1990) found that working class Mexican Americans are gradually selecting relatives instead of friends to serve as godparents.

The concept of family as being all important has produced stress among some second and third generation Mexican Americans (Alvarez, 1994). That stress is often the result of conflict with modern lifestyles. Specifically, Weaver (1994) discussed the reluctance some upwardly mobile Mexican Americans from nuclear families may have in sharing resources with extended family members.

Language.

Thomas Weaver (1994) stated, "Latino culture may be likened to a stool with three legs--language, family and religion" (p.20). Research conducted by Estrada (1985) documented that approximately 90% of Hispanics speak Spanish with some fluency. One of the reasons that Spanish language use has persisted, especially among Mexican Americans, is the close proximity of their homeland and the creation of ethnic enclaves within the United States (Weaver, 1994). Weaver does recognize that Mexican American "fluency in Spanish has diminished at best" (p. 21). This holds true especially for third generation Mexican Americans.

The Mexican American population is best characterized as being "linguistically heterogeneous, spanning the spectrum to include monolingual Spanish speakers, monolingual English speakers, and varying levels of bilinguals. Some claim Spanish as their first and stronger language while others claim to be native speakers of English..." (González, 1988, p. 72). Santa Ana (1993) identified eight dominant language dialects and their frequency of use by Mexican Americans; his population totals were based on 1980 U. S. Census Bureau data. Of those classified by Santa Ana as monolingual speakers, the most frequently occurring dialect was Chicano English (1,390,950) followed by standard English (845,711), Chicano Spanish (745,045), and standard Spanish (101,453). Of those classified as bilingual by Santa Ana, the most frequently occurring dialect was Chicano English (4,277,227), standard English (2,185,751), Chicano Spanish (1,131,555), and standard Spanish (321,251).

Language use varies in several ways among Mexican Americans. Arrieta (1994) found that because of widespread bilingualism among Hispanics, mixing Spanish and English was common; the results are commonly referred to as Spanglish or codeswitching. Spanglish or codeswitching refers to mixing words or grammatical constructions from two languages (Weaver, 1994). Arrieta cited an illustrative example, "The new car es del hombre que vive next door. The new car belongs to the man who lives next door" (p. 173). At times, Spanglish or codeswitching may involve the alternate use of Spanish and English with each spoken sentence.

Language use may also vary with the use of caló, a slang form of speech involving the innovative combining of English and Spanish (Arrieta, 1994). The use of caló and Spanglish or codeswitching is determined "according to the context, social status of the speaker and attitudes which the speaker has about the two languages" (Arrieta, 1994, p. 168).

Lindholm and Padilla (1978a, 1978b) conducted a study of language mixing using data obtained from 19 bilingual children. They found that of 17,864 utterances in English and Spanish, only 1.7% contained language mixing. When mixing did occur, it was predominantly at the lexical level. Those lexical mixes consisted primarily of the insertion of English nouns into Spanish utterances, for example, "Una vez estaba una bird. Once there was a bird" (Padilla & Lindholm, 1984, p. 387). Lindholm and Padilla (1978a, 1978b) found that Spanish nouns were inserted into English sentences with much less frequency. The idea that bilingualism creates a situation where children can't speak either language adequately is rejected by Padilla and Lindholm (1984). They point out that Spanglish "may be considered the norm in some Spanish/English communities and does not denote lack of fluency in either language" (p. 388).

Education.

The notion of education may have a different connotation to some Mexican Americans and to mainstream Americans. When Balzano (1993) interviewed Mexican immigrant parents, she found that educación was commonly understood to mean the development of moral character in a child. A common parent belief about this cultural educación model was that children would become a competent participant in social groups and that they would be a good person if they received proper educación. Parents that Balzano interviewed considered themselves, not the schools, primarily responsible for educación. Estudios, formal study in school, was recognized by these same parents as a worthwhile endeavor that would help their child advance socially and economically.

Current measures of educational attainment, which some Mexican American parents would term estudios, remain considerably lower for Mexican Americans than for the non-Hispanic population (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1994a). In 1993, the percentage of Mexican Americans with educational attainment less than fifth grade was 15.4%. That percentage compares with 1.3% for the non-Hispanic population. An additional measure of educational attainment, the high school graduation rate, indicated that only 46.2% of Mexican Americans received high school diplomas. The comparable graduation rate for non-Hispanics was 82.4%. Receiving a bachelor's, master's, or Ph. D degree is yet another measure of educational attainment. Once again, similar differences between the Mexican American (5.9%) and non-Hispanic (22.9%) populations were documented.

Valencia (1991a) developed a four part construct to illustrate the nature of school failure by Mexican American students. The first of those constructs identified by Valencia was persistence. By persistence Valencia refers to the deep rooted history of school failure among Mexican American students (Drake, 1927). That failure continued even when Mexican Americans were given greater access to the public schooling system in the early 1900's (Carter & Segura, 1979). School failure, as evidenced by the education gap between Mexican Americans and non-Hispanics continues until the present when discrepancies are still being documented (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1994a). An additional construct Valencia used to describe Mexican American school failure was pervasiveness. He pointed to results that are "alarmingly consistent: Chicano students, on the whole, tend to exhibit low academic achievement" (p. 4). According to Valencia, school failure is not limited to one single locale. Valencia also used the descriptive term "disproportionality" to further illustrate the nature of Mexican American school failure. Disproportionality, according to Valencia, is evidenced by a greater percentage of Mexican American students reading below the middle distribution on reading achievement tests. One final construct used by Valencia is low academic achievement. He cites numerous studies (e. g., California Superintendents' Council on Hispanic Affairs, 1985) to document low academic achievement.

To explain why such a high percentage of Mexican American students experience school failure is a complex task. One possible explanation is biologically and culturally based. Another possible explanation can be found in the nature of the Mexican American schooling experience.

Balzano (1993) identified six biologically or culturally based explanations drawn from social science literature that may be causes of school failure among Mexican American students. A brief summary of each explanation is provided.

1. Biologically based explanation. This explanation assumes that certain racial or ethnic groups lack appropriate genes for high intellectual performance. The biologically based explanation has found limited support in recent years (e. g., Dunn, 1987).

2. Damaging culture theory. This theory, pervasive in the 1960's, holds that Mexican American children do poorly in school because their culture doesn't encourage academic achievement (Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974).

3. Cultural deficit model. This model, closely related to the damaging culture theory, is supported by the idea that certain cultural backgrounds are inferior in their

ability to inculcate children with the basic skills needed for school success (Suarez-Orozco, 1989).

4. Cultural conformity model. The idea underlying this model is that academic failure results from an unwillingness of Mexican Americans to surrender native values and conform to the mainstream norms typically found in American public schools (Maestas, 1983).

5. Cultural discontinuity model. At the core of this model is a belief that academic failure may be related to discontinuity between the home culture of Mexican American children and the subculture of the school (Balzano, 1993).

6. Labor market hypothesis. Ogbu (1974), a proponent of the labor market hypothesis, proposed a twofold typology to classify minority groups. One type, including Mexican Americans, American Indians, and African Americans, is what Ogbu termed an involuntary minority. According to Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986) the development of an opositional culture and a folk theory of success is characteristic of this minority group. Low academic effort syndrome, by Ogbu's reasoning, is how involuntary minorities oppose a hostile society. The second type of minority group, known as voluntary minorities, include immigrants from countries such as Japan, China, and the Philippines. This groups' response to the educational system and American society is considered more positive than that of involuntary minorities.

A separate group of explanations for academic failure is school based. Valencia (1991a), drawing on his knowledge of the Mexican American schooling experience, suggested that the following generalizations, among others, captures the norm for many Mexican American students.

1. Segregation. Menchaca and Valencia (1990) noted the segregation of Latinos "of which two-thirds are Chicano, has increased to such an extent that they now have the distinction of being the most highly segregated group of America's children" (p. 222). The connection between segregation and academic achievement has been well documented according to Valencia (1991a).

2. Language /cultural exclusion. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1972a) reported that only 7% of the schools in the Southwestern United States offered bilingual education. More recent reports (Olsen, 1988) documented continued language and cultural exclusion. Olsen found that less than 25% of California's limited English proficiency students were receiving bilingual services provided by qualified bilingual teachers.

3. School holding power (retention). Current data indicates that about one out of two Mexican American students drop out of secondary schools (U. S. Bureau of the Census, *1994a*). Orr (*1987*) commented that "...there is overwhelming evidence that many so-called dropouts leave because of the treatment they receive at school or the failure of the school programs to meet their learning needs. In effect these students are forced out" (p. xiii).

4. School financing. Numerous studies have documented that schools attended by Mexican American children are under financed in comparison with schools attended primarily by Anglos (e. g., Fairchild, 1984; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972b).

5. Teacher-student interaction. In a comprehensive study involving observations of over 400 classes in New Mexico, California, and Texas, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1973) documented significant differences in the quality and quantity of teacher-student interaction along lines of ethnic and racial backgrounds. One set of findings indicated that Chicano students received significantly less praise and encouragement from teachers than did Anglo students.

6. Curriculum differentiation. Oakes (1985) found that because Mexican American students were often ability grouped, many were exposed to greater amounts of low status knowledge. As a result of this practice, much knowledge considered prerequisite for college admission was not internalized by Mexican American students.

7. Stress. Although there is no empirical evidence documenting the link between adverse stress and poor achievement, there is evidence that Mexican American elementary students experience considerable high and harmful amounts of stress (Gerard & Miller, 1975). The link between stress and achievement has been made in a theoretical sense, however (Goughis, 1986).

8. Chicano teaching force. The percentage of Mexican Americans entering the teaching profession is extremely low and steadily declining (Valencia & Aburto, 1991). According to Valencia (1991a) the primary obstacle to increased numbers of Mexican American teachers is their high failure rate on teacher competency tests.

As evidenced by the work of Balzano (1993) and Valencia (1991b), there are numerous possible explanations for school failure among Mexican American children. Valencia concluded that "The prognosis for a healthier and more equitable schooling experience for Chicanos attending school in the 1990's and beyond is not promising--unless reform begins now" (p. 14).

Recreation.

While a thorough examination of recreation within the Mexican American population is beyond the scope of this discussion, one aspect of recreation, the fiesta, will be briefly explored. Fiestas (festivals) provide a unique understanding of the Mexican American experience because they are"...occasions during and through which cultural meanings are produced and disseminated" (Nájera-Ramirez, 1994).

According to Nájera-Ramirez (1994), fiestas are found in both urban and rural communities and cover a broad range of celebrations and events. They may be as simple as a birthday party or as complex as a holiday celebration for Diez y Seis de Septiembre (September 16, Mexican Independence Day). "Fiestas may be religious or secular, local or national, seasonal (presented annually) or occasional (celebrating an important event in the individual life-cycle)" (p. 328). Stoeltje (1983) observed that fiestas involve a total experience that include the mind, body, and spirit.

Although many fiestas are based on imported traditions, Nájera-Ramirez (1994) noted that it's likely new layers of meaning have been added through time. Fiestas often integrate the traditional with the modern; this flexibility "ensures that the participants can shape a festival to fit their current needs, concerns or trends" (p. 329). Nájera-Ramirez also noted that even though fiestas may appear chaotic, they are carefully orchestrated.

Three fiestas unique to the Mexican American community are charreadas, lowrider happenings, and fiestas patrias (Nájera-Ramirez, 1994). Charreadas, also known as fiestas charras, are Mexican rodeos which feature equestrian contests, roping, and popular entertainment by comedians, singers, and musicians (Le Compte, 1985). Lowrider happenings may be associated with a larger fiesta or held as a separate event (Gradante, 1982). The term lowrider refers to car that has been physically lowered through the use of undersized tires, and a shortened or hydraulically powered suspension. The term lowrider can apply to the car and/or the driver. Fiestas patrias are patriotic holidays (Nájera-Ramirez, 1994) that have experienced substantial growth since the late 1960's (Sommers, 1985). Cinco de Mayo (May 5) which commemorates the victory of Mexican troops over French forces in the Battle of Puebla is typical of a fiesta patria.

Material/Technical Patterns

Employment.

U. S. Bureau of the Census (1994a) data is helpful in accurately portraying Mexican American unemployment, labor force participation, occupational distribution, earnings for full-time workers, and poverty levels.

In 1993, Mexican Americans were more likely (11.7%) to be unemployed than were members of the non-Hispanic population (7.1%). U. S. Bureau of the Census (1994a) data indicate that the unemployment rate for Mexican America males (12.1%) is slightly higher than for Mexican American females (11.1%).

When labor force participation is considered, Mexican American males, in general are more likely to be economically active than are Mexican American females. In the year 1993, 81.1% of males were active in the civilian labor force as opposed to 51.6% of Mexican American females (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1994a).

The occupational distribution of Mexican American males differed from that of non-Hispanic males (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1994a). U. S. Bureau of the Census (1994a) data indicate that Mexican American males were most likely to be employed as operators, fabricators, and laborers (29.9%) and in precision production, craft, and repair (20.5%). Non-Hispanic males, on the other hand, were most likely to be employed in managerial and professional specialty roles (27.9%) and in technical, sales, and administrative support positions (21.5%). Mexican American and non-Hispanic females were most likely to be employed in technical, sales, and administrative positions (40.7% and 42.9%, respectively). Mexican American females were more likely to be employed in service occupations than were non-Hispanic females (24.9% compared with 17.5%). On the other hand, 29.8% of non-Hispanic females were employed in managerial and professional specialty work while only 13.6% of Mexican American females engaged in these occupations.

Considering the differences in occupational distributions, it's not surprising that median earnings for year-round Mexican Americans workers were less than for year-round non-Hispanics workers (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1994a). The median earnings for Mexican American males in 1992 were $22,355. This compares with $36,672 for non-Hispanic males. The median earnings for Mexican American females were $18,880 compared with $24,313 for non-Hispanic females.

Mexican Americans were more likely to live below the poverty level in 1992 than were non-Hispanics (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1994a). An estimated 30.1% of Mexican Americans and only 13.1% of non-Hispanics were classified as below the

poverty level. Mexican American children under 18 years of age were living in poverty 39.5% of the time compared to 19.5% for non-Hispanic children.

The "Great U-Turn", a term developed Bluestone and Harrison (1988), refers to a dramatic reversal in real wages and income stability since 1973. That reversal has been experienced to an even greater degree by Latinos (Bluestone & Harrison, 1988). Baca Zinn (1994) identified a number of economic and social trends that have affected Mexican American life during the last quarter of a century. Those trends, according to Baca Zinn, are likely to have a continued impact, especially upon Mexican American family patterns.

One of the trends identified by Baca Zinn (1994) is that of a changing distribution and organization of jobs. Ojeda (1990), supported Baca Zinn's observation, by noting that even though Mexican Americans have expanded their share of the workforce, most jobs have developed in sectors prone to cyclical unemployment. Moore (1989) noted that even with job creation, few Mexican Americans have sufficient training for high-wage jobs in the newly created industries. One result of this economic restructuring is predicable family stress and disruption (Castro, 1990).

A second trend identified by Baca Zinn (1994) is an increased participation in the labor force by Mexican American women. According to Baca Zinn, this has created "far-reaching changes in family life" (p. 171). The specifics of those changes have been discussed in an earlier portion of this literature review.

One final trend that Baca Zinn (1994) identified was an increased number of female-headed households which were below the poverty level. The results of this trend, Baca Zinn contends are "severe problems for mothers and their children" (p. 171).

Geographical distribution and housing.

According to a report issued by the U. S. Bureau of the Census (1989), 87% of the Hispanic population live in a metropolitan area; this compares with three-quarters of the general population who live in a similar area. Certain cities contain large percentages of Hispanics; 82.9% of McAllen, Texas for example is populated by Hispanics. Other cities with large Hispanic populations include El Paso (67.5%), San Antonio (46.5%), Los Angeles (28.3%), San Diego (16.6%), Houston (16.7%), Phoenix (13.8%) and San Francisco (13.2%); Bureau of the Census, 1989).

A separate U. S. Bureau of the Census (1994b) report describes the geographical distribution of Mexican Americans by region. According to this report, the majority of

Mexican Americans live in the West (7,824,000); the next most populated regions include the South (4,344,000), Midwest (1,153,000), and the Northeast (175,000).

Although little research has been conducted that relates to Mexican American housing, U.S. Bureau of the Census (1994a) data indicate that 44.2% of Mexican Americans own their own homes and 55.8% rent. Within the non-Hispanic population, 66.4% own homes and 33.6% rent.

Dietary.

Gwynn and Gwynn (1994) provide a comprehensive examination of the food and dietary adaptation of Mexican Americans. As part of their study, this research team applied a food patterning model developed by Jerome (1982) to data obtained in California from 165 recent Mexican immigrants and 101 Mexican Americans who were either born in the United States or who migrated from Mexico at an early age.

When Jerome's model was applied to the data obtained by Gwynn and Gwynn (1994), both healthy and unhealthy changes were observed in the core diets of recent Mexican immigrants and first generation Mexican Americans. Gwynn and Gwynn concluded however, that for first generation Mexican Americans, "it appears that the less healthy trends are greater in number, and probably stronger in their impact on health, than the positive ones" (p. 359). Certain evidence lead to this conclusion; for the two fat-rich items (lard and cream) that decreased in the diets of first generation Mexican Americans, six fat rich items were added (margarine/butter, oils, mayonnaise, salad dressing, sour cream, ice cream, cookies, and flour tortillas). Of additional concern was a large increase in sources of sugar, high sugar drinks, cookies, and breakfast cereals for first generation Mexican Americans.

Knapp, Haffner, Young, Hazuda, Gardner, and Stern (1985), in an earlier dietary study, found greatest nutritional concerns related to excessive calorie consumption, low physical activity, and deficiencies in vitamin A, vitamin C, iron and calcium. Additional research conducted by the National Center for Health Statistics (1982) documented that 39% of Mexican American women and 30% of Mexican American men were overweight. Cardiovascular risk has been significantly related to obesity in Mexican Americans (Reichley, Mueller, & Hanis, 1987).

Non-insulin dependent diabetes, related partially to obesity, is prevalent among Mexican Americans. Stern, Gaskill, Hazuda, Gardner and Haffner (1983) found that Mexican Americans in Texas were two to four times more likely to suffer from non-insulin dependent diabetes than were Anglos.

Folk art and community murals.

In recent years, the study of Hispanic material culture has emerged as a primary area of interest in Hispanic studies (Mendoza & Torres, 1994). In reference to Hispanic material culture, Mendoza and Torres (1994) stated, "this has been reproduced and mediated by way of indigenous, mestizo, Mexican, African, and Anglo influences" (p. 59).

Traditional Hispanic folk arts and crafts, one form of material culture, have exhibited longevity and popular appeal (Wroth, 1977). The crafts of colchas (quilts) and pinatas are two aspects of material cultural that warrant a brief exploration.

Colchas, which hold sentimental and functional value, are patchwork quilts made of available materials (Cantu & Zapata Vela, 1991). Hispanic women of the Southwest created colchas primarily out of necessity, since these items couldn't be found in stores (James, 1963). The actual act of quilting served both a functional and social role for the women involved in this laborious task.

Pinatas have for years been an important part of celebrations; they are commonly found at birthdays, baptisms, and weddings (Griffith, 1983). Originally pinatas were constructed of jarro, earthenware pots covered with papier-mache and shaped into various forms (González, 1991). In later years, pinateros prefer to use carrio (river cane) for the framework. Contemporary pinatas differ from their "colonial era counterparts largely by virtue of the contemporary materials, construction methods, and dominant icons and images portrayed" (Mendoza & Torres, 1994, p. 77).

Street murals, known at times as "people's art", are appropriate technology for conveying social protest and establishing cultural identity (Barnett, 1994). Mendoza and Torres (1994) contend that "community murals represent both a community's cultural 'text' and context" (p. 78). Mendoza and Torres also observed that muralism is "a barometer of a community's identification with its history, traditions, and contemporary culture heroes" (p. 78).

The origin of the contemporary mural movement dates back to the works of Mexican muralists such a Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco (Mendoza & Torres, 1994). The 1960's and 1970's, periods of social protest in the United States, gave birth to what is now considered the contemporary mural tradition. Cities such as Tucson, Santa Fe, Denver, and San Diego contain murals dominated by Latino traditions (Barnett, 1984). Over 1,000 murals have been documented in Los Angeles at any one time.

Mexican American Children's Literature

Under-Representation of the Mexican American

Current Representation

Widespread agreement exists concerning the under-representation of Mexican American culture and life within the larger body of children's literature (Miller-Lachman, 1992; Reimer, 1992). Barrera et al. (1992) examined three publications of Isabel Schon from 1980 to 1988 and calculated the annual proportion of books with Mexican American content to be about one-tenth of one percent or less of all children's literature. More recently, Schon (1991) examined most in-print books in English since 1988 and found only eleven Mexican American titles "noteworthy". "Noteworthy" was defined by Schon as books that "Contain recent information, as well as being entertaining and possessing high potential for interest or involvement of the reader" (p. viii).

Although Romero & Zancanella (1990) were looking at textbooks, they also found very little literature devoted to the Hispanic experience in recent American literature anthologies. Not one page of the 1,399 page anthology The American Experience (1989) by Prentice Hall dealt with the Hispanic experience. Other well known publishers such as Scribner's and Scott Foresman did little more to portray the Hispanic cultural heritage.

Studying a related medium, Markes (1991) investigated how fifteen of the most popular magazines made reference to children and adults from minority racial and ethnic groups. She found that African American and Native American populations were represented in accordance with the 1988 Census Bureau estimates. Asian Americans, however, were over represented and Hispanics were under-represented. Markes also noted a tendency toward tokenism, especially in pictures. She described what appeared to be a "formula" in many photos and drawings - a group picture of one African American, one Asian, and two or three Anglo children.

Historical Perspective

The historical beginning of the Mexican American experience and Chicano literature written for adults was 1848. Most literature written by Mexican Americans during the period 1848 to 1910 followed literary trends dominant in Mexico and Spain. There was, however, an adjustment in the Hispanic-Mexican literary tradition. Several forms of literature were beginning to reflect growing tensions between the dominant Anglo culture and the conquered Mexicans. The corrido, a narrative folk ballad that dealt with epic themes, and cuadro de costumbres, a Mexican literary form that

portrayed customs and language, were true expressions of Mexican American writers depicting their reality (Martínez & Lomelí, 1985).

According to Barrera (1993), it wasn't until the 1940s that children's books depicting Mexican Americans appeared. Most of these books were written and illustrated by non-Chicanos and are generally considered to be a misrepresentation of the Mexican American experience.

Martínez & Lomelí (1985) point out a common misperception that the 1960s marked the birth of Chicano consciousness. The authors argue that such a consciousness existed long before the 1960s; it was unexpressed, however, because of political and economic powerlessness. The Chicano movement of the 1960s did bring a new pride in the synthesis of Mexican and American cultures. The Chicano movement had a literary counterpart that was reflected in new subject matter and the richness of caló, the language of the barrio. Although very little of this literature was written for youth, the period did provide "A necessary backdrop from which literature for children could find psychological and artistic support" (Barrera, 1993, p. 13).

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was an instrumental force in establishing new literature for Mexican American children (Barrera, 1993). This legislation resulted in Spanish, English, and bilingual Spanish-English language children's literature written by Mexican Americans about Mexican American culture and life. Early in the 1970s several professional Mexican American scholars and authors started to write for children. The best known was Ernesto Galarza, who in 1971 wrote the autobiographic novel Barrio Boy.

Whatever gains were realized in the cultural diversification of children's literature were not maintained during the conservative decade of the 1980s (Barrera et al., 1992). Bishop (1987) reported that by the mid 1980s, only about one percent of children's books were about blacks and the percentages were even lower for other minority cultures.

Barrera (1993) has identified the renewed attention to multicultural issues in recent years that has brought a greater depth and breadth to children's literature depicting the Mexican American experience. Family Pictures/Cuadros de Familia by Carmen Lomas Garza (1990) has been heralded as a "landmark" work in children's literature. A growing number of Chicano professional writers are focusing their attention on children's literature (Barrera).

Content Analysis

Generalizations

Beginning with Leo Politi's (1946) Pedro, The Angel on Olvera Street, Mexican Americans have often been misrepresented in a variety of ways in children's literature. One large category of misrepresentation has been the use of generalizations or stereotypes (CIBC, 1975; Cortes & Zwick, 1992; Schon, 1976, 1978, 1981).

The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1975) invested nearly two years preparing a critical survey of approximately 200 children's books on Chicano themes. In one of the most influential studies of the decade, the Council collaborated with Chicano educators, Chicano specialists in children's literature, and members of Chicano studies departments of several Southwestern universities. This team of experts identified a number of disturbing stereotypical themes. One such theme was the "Chicanito gets his wish, but selflessly sacrifices it" (p. 8). The object of the wish is usually a material object associated with Anglo society. When the wish is fulfilled, the Chicanito often gives up the object for some moral reason. Another recurrent theme is that of the "striving Chicano". Children in these stories often seek an education as the path to a better life. A third common theme identified by CIBC is that of "no English, no hope". Chicano characters are portrayed as feeling that to succeed in life they must learn to speak English.

Reséndez (1985) identified the "Olvera Street" perception of culture, defining a culture by its foods, and the "white savior" theme, comparing all standards only to Anglo societal values. Moore and MacCann (1987), describing the "white savior" theme said, "Paternalism in literature about Hispanic youth is often couched in formulaic plotline involving an Anglo rescuer, exemplar, or surrogate parent figure, and these characters are contrasted with Hispanic adults whose roles are either negative or insubstantial" (p. 99). CIBC (1975) described this theme as "The poor, ignorant, helpless Mexican is saved by a benevolent Anglo" (p. 8). Reséndez also identified "the refusal to deal with the total experience of the child, historical inaccuracies, lack of concern for the causes of social, political, psychological, educational, and economic problems that have burdened the Chicano, and an almost total disregard and lack of respect for the language that the Chicano has refused to relinquish" (p.108).

Isabel Schon has reviewed books about the Mexican, Mexican American, Central and South American, and Spanish people and culture since 1976. In A Bicultural Heritage: Themes for the Exploration of Mexican and Mexican-American Culture in

Books for Children and Adolescents (1978) Schon identified six stereotypes prevalent in the books she reviewed. She found Mexican and Mexican Americans being commonly portrayed as poor even though great wealth can be found among these people. She also found innumerable books that showed Mexican villages filled with peasants dressed in sombreros and serapes. According to Schon, children need to realize there are large and beautiful cities in Mexico also. Many books also presented the stereotypical image of the poor Mexican, eating tortillas. Schon expressed concern also about the incorrect image of bulls roaming the streets of Mexico and every boy wishing to be a bullfighter. Another form of stereotype that Schon identified was the idea that every adult Mexican takes a daily siesta. The final stereotype discussed by Schon related to donkeys. In the books she reviewed, she noticed that donkeys were constantly portrayed as the only means of transportation.

Another researcher in Mexican American children's literature expressing concern about stereotypes was Wagoner (1982). She examined 32 books about Mexican Americans since 1970 and found 15 of these books incorrectly suggesting that most Mexican Americans are migrant farm workers.

Barrera (1993) identified a tendency in some books to provide a "Mexican American" story, one with character pictures and names, without cultural context. According to Barrera, this superficial treatment "Reveals more about the dominant society's attitudes and thoughts about Mexican Americans at a particular time than it does about the Mexican American experience itself" (p. 13).

Three researchers failed to find inadequacies in Mexican American children's literature. Blatt (1968) collected and examined 32 books dealing with Mexican Americans and Mexican life. Her conclusion was that "It appears, then, that writers of children's literature are not guilty of teaching prejudiced attitudes about Mexican-Americans" (p. 450). Blatt did discuss what she called a "sin" of omission -- a greater awareness of problems south of the border. Reséndez (1985) in discussing the study done by Blatt (1968) and Gast (1965) said, "Both critics fail to go far enough in their analysis. Both apply inadequate criteria in their studies and come to incomplete conclusions" (p. 108).

Much of the same criticism offered by Reséndez (1985) could be assessed to studies done by Moyer (1974) and Morehouse (1978). Moyer collected 661 books about Mexico and Mexican Americans dating from 1925 to 1971. Each book was examined and a single final assessment was made - - recommended, acceptable, marginal, or not

recommended. There was no specific listing of criteria used to make these judgments. On the basis of her examination, Moyer stated, "The image of Mexican Americans portrayed in children's fiction seems authentic and realistic, although such books are few in number" (p. 181).

Morehouse, using the Moyer list, selected 17 fiction books published between 1961 and 1971 to determine if stereotypes existed in children's books about Mexican Americans. Morehouse, unlike Moyer, used a variety of criteria to evaluate each title. Even though the methods of the two studies differed, the findings were essentially the same; the books did not portray any significant number of stereotypes. Although Morehouse made an effort to acquaint herself with Mexican American history and culture, a statement by Barrera et al. (1992) is especially relevant to this study, "Teachers cannot critically evaluate multicultural literature without some sense, general and specific, about human diversity. Therefore, to do justice to Mexican-American children's literature, especially fiction, teachers should learn something about the real Mexican Americans in our society" (p. 232).

Content Improvement

There is cautious optimism concerning the current and future direction of Mexican American children's literature. Schon (1989) discussed a much more objective view of Hispanics as portrayed in recent literature. Reséndez (1985) sees a more acceptable portrayal of the Mexican American largely because of a new breed of writers, mostly Mexican American, who understand their source. Barrera et al. (1992) identified improvement in the way nonnative writers have depicted the Mexican American experience. Barrera (1993) is especially encouraged by native writers sharing their life experience with children, "Their voices are bringing needed depth and authenticity to this strand of literature. Their native perspectives point the way to many other stories about Mexican American culture and life not yet explored by children's literature publishers" (p. 15-16).

Foundational Understandings for Development and Use of Mexican American Children's Literature

Barrera et al. (1992) identified five "Basic understandings or insights into the Mexican American experience as essential to informing the future development and classroom use of Mexican American children's literature" (p. 207).

Defining the Mexican American Experience

According to Barrera et al. (1992) the Mexican American experience, as portrayed in children's literature, has been distorted several ways across the years. Originally, the Mexican American experience was equated with the Mexican experience and more recently with the Hispanic American experience. Although there are similarities in these experiences, distinct differences do exist between the people and cultures. The Mexican American experience is defined by Barrera et al. as a "Human experience, with all the depth and complexity that accrues to all human experience" (p. 209). This experience has been shaped by a variety of historical, social, economic, and geographical factors. The Mexican American population of today is no less diverse than in 1848 when Mexico ceded major portions of its land to the United States.

Necessity and Challenges of Authentic Portrayal

The Mexican American experience needs an authentic portrayal by those within the culture and those outside the culture who have gotten to know it well. Without authenticity, the cultural awareness and understanding possible through children's literature will never be realized. Historically, Mexican American children's literature has been written and illustrated primarily by non-Chicanos (Barrera et al., 1992). Unfortunately, most nonnative writers have been unable to accurately portray the culture (Cortes, 1992). The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1975) described the efforts of these writers by saying, "Even those authors whose efforts were marked by good intentions could not, in the final analysis, seem to transcend the boundaries of perspective defined by their white American cultural biases. Invariably, traditional stereotypes filtered into their products in a host of subtle ways" (p.7). As was discussed earlier, nonnative writers, generally speaking, have been more successful writing fiction than nonfiction (Barrera et al.).

Vital Role of Mexican American Voices and Perspectives

Since the 1980s, a growing number of Chicano authors have started to write for children (Reséndez, 1985). Reséndez has identified promising Chicano authors such as Ernesto Galarza, Nephtali De León, Alonso Perales, Nathaniel Archleta, and Dolores Gonzales. He feels these authors "Are seeking to express the unique experience of the Chicano child, to deal with reality rather than with the exotic, romantic, and unreal, and to capture the flavor and soul of what it is to be Chicano" (p. 109). Barrera (1993) is encouraged by the work of Chicano writers such as Pat Mora, Helena Viramontes, and Rudolfo Anaya, all of which currently have works for children in press or in progress. It is these voices that will serve to reflect subtle and not so subtle intra-group

differences and serve a vital role in relaying the Mexican American experience to children.

Literary Potential and Directions for the Future

As was discussed earlier, encouraging signs exist for Mexican American children's literature in the future. Unfortunately, there are obstacles to large scale distribution of work on the Mexican American experience. Major publishing houses need to support and encourage existing and emerging native writers of Mexican American children's literature (Barrera, 1993). Barrera also identified the critical role "gatekeepers" to literature -- librarians, school administrators, and classroom teachers play in supporting acquisition of Mexican American children's literature.

Source of Learning for All Children

Barrera et al. (1992) supports the notion that Mexican American children's literature provides affective and cognitive benefits for all children, not just those who are Mexican American. She believes that all students "Have an intuitive sense of people and family and social relationships to bring to the book that will help them to explore it" (p. 232). The benefits ascribed to quality multicultural literature earlier in this review of literature can be realized as all children explore the Mexican American experience in authentic children's literature.

Oral Tradition

Traditionally, teachers have held a limited view of literacy, one that equates literacy with the ability to read and write (Eisner, 1991). Eisner contends that "Literacy is, broadly speaking, the ability to encode or decode meaning in any of the forms used in culture to present meaning" (p. 14). Within the Mexican American community, much like other communities, the oral tradition is used to convey meaning. (Barrera et al., 1992). Barrera suggests that the oral tradition of Mexican Americans is rich and warrants inclusion in a literature program. "To reject or ignore children's oral literary traditions is to devalue an important part of their knowledge and humanness" (p. 233).

Selected Titles for Accurately Portraying Mexican American Culture

Kruse (1992) stressed the need for a multicultural book selection process based on informed reviews by individuals sensitive to the "distinctive cultural content of a book or the erroneous representation of cultural content" (p. 32). Consequently, the search for "authentic" Mexican American children's literature began by identifying four reviewers familiar with children's literature and the various dimensions of Mexican American

culture. The writings of Barrera (1992), Barrera, Liguori, and Salas (1992), Cortes (1992), Cortes and Zwick (1992), Schon (1976, 1978, 1981, 1989, 1991), and Yokota (1993) were examined for specific titles about Mexican Americans or with Mexican Americans main characters. A total of 44 books were identified as possibly being appropriate for elementary students though this process.

The publishers of these 44 books were contacted in writing and asked for a review copy of the book discussed earlier by the reviewers. Thirty-five review copies were sent to the investigator by the publishers. The publisher letter also requested that any new titles with a Mexican American context be forwarded to the investigator for examination. Recommended books not sent by the publisher were purchased by the investigator.

A total of 55 books, 44 recommended by reviewers and 11 sent for examination by publishers, were then examined by the investigator for suitability in the study. Three factors were considered before a book was finally selected for inclusion in the study: first, the book must fall within an approximate readability level of first through eighth grade; second, the book should satisfy the same literary standards applying to the larger body of children's literature; and third, the book should satisfy a generally agreed upon standard for evaluating multicultural children's literature. A set of nine questions, based on Miller-Lachman's (1992) work were used to investigate this last factor. If a book failed any one question it was excluded from the study.

When all three factors were considered, a final bibliography containing 40 titles was arrived at. These books were then classified by the investigator according to the eight genres described by Rudman (1993)--biography, contemporary realistic fiction, historical fiction, informational, modern fantasy, picture, and poetry.

In addition to normal bibliographic information, this bibliography includes the name of the reviewer discussing the book (if no name is listed, the investigator alone reviewed the book) and the genre classification. Seven of the titles are bilingual editions; this is indicated with "BIL" in the bibliography.

Recommended Mexican American Trade Books Currently in Print

Recommended titles were selected on the basis of "Criteria for Evaluation" in Miller-Lachman, L. (1992). Our family, our friends, our world: An annotated guide to significant multicultural books for children and teenagers. New Providence, NJ: R. R. Bowker and reviews of the following experts: Rosalinda B. Barrera, Oralia Garza de Cortes, Isabel Schon, and Junko Yokota.

Genres as described by Rudman, M. K. (1993). Children's literature: Resource for the classroom. Norwood, MA: Christopher Gordon.
P= Picture Books
MF=Modern Fantasy
PO= Poetry
CRF= Contemporary Realistic Fiction
HF= Historical Fiction
B= Biography
I= Informational Book

BIL denotes a bilingual edition.

Atkin, S. B. (1993). Voices from the fields. Boston: Little, Brown. I.

Atkinson, M. (1979). Maria Teresa. Carrboro, NC: Lollipop Power. Cortes, CRF

Bethancourt, T. E. (1985). The me inside of me. Minneapolis, MN: Lerner. Cortes, CRF

Bragg, B. (1989). The very first Thanksgiving: Pioneers on the Rio Grande. Tucson, AZ: Harbinger House. Cortes, HF

Brown, T. (1986). Hello Amigos. New York: Henry Holt. Barrera, Cortes, I

Catalano, J. (1988). The Mexican Americans. New York: Chelsea House. Cortes, B

Chávez, D. (1986). The last of the menu girls. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press. Barrera, CRF

Cqdye, C. (1990). Vilma Martinez. Milwaukee, WI: Raintree. Cortes, B, BIL

Cruz Martinez, A. (1991). The woman who outshone the sun/La mujer que brillaba aun mas que el sol. San Francisco: Children's Book Press. Yokota, HF, BIL

De Paola, T. (1980). The Lady of Guadalupe. New York: Holiday House. Cortes, HF

Dorros, A. (1991). Abuela. New York: Dutton. Yokota, MF

Emberley, R. (1991). My house/Mi casa. New York: Little, Brown Yokota, I, BIL

Garcia, M. (1978). The adventures of Connie and and Diego/Las aventuras de Connie y Diego. San Francisco: Children's Book Press. Barrera, Cortes, MF, BIL

Garza, C. L. (1990). Family pictures/Cuadros de familia. San Francisco: Children's Book Press. Barrera, Yokota, Cortes, Schon, P, BIL

Hewett, J. (1989). Getting elected: The diary of a campaign. New York: Lodestar. Barrera, Cortes, Schon, B

Hewett, J. (1990). Hector lives in the United States now: The story of a Mexican American child. Baltimore, MD: Harper Collins. Barrera, Cortes, I

Martinez, E. (1993). Henry Cisneros: Mexican American leader. Brookfield, CT: Millbrook Press. B

Maury, I. (1979). My mother and I are growing strong/Mi mama y yo nos hacemos fueres. Berkeley, CA: New Seed Press. Cortes, CRF, BIL

Mora, P. (1992). A birthday basket for Tia. New York: Macmillan. Barrera, CRF

Morey, J., & Dunn, W. (1989). Famous Mexican Americans. New York: Cobblehill Books. Cortes, Barrera, B

Neugeboren, J. (1989). Poli, a Mexican boy in early Texas. San Antonio, TX: Corona. Schon, HF

Peña, S. C. (Ed.). (1981). Kikiriki: Stories and poems in English and Spanish for children. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press. Barrera, PO, BIL

Peña, S. C. (Ed.). (1986). Tun-ta-ca-tun: More stories and poems in English and Spanish. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press. Barrera, PO, BIL

Pinchot, J. (1989). The Mexicans in American. Minneapolis, MN: Lerner. Barrera, Schon, Cortes, I

Roberts, M. (1986). Cesar Chávez and La Causa. Chicago: Childrens Press. Cortes, B

Roberts, N. (1986). Henry Cisneros: A leader for the future. Chicago: Childrens Press. Cortes, B

Rohmer, H. & Gomez, C. (1989). Mr. Sugar came to town/La visita del Sr. Azúcar. San Francisco: Children's Book Press. Barrera, Cortes, CRF, BIL

Schoberle, C. (1990). Esmeralda and the pet parade. New York: Simon and Schuster. Schon, CRF

Smith, M. M. (1984). Grandmother's adobe dollhouse. Santa Fe, NM: New Mexico Magazine. I

Soto, G. (1987). The cat's meow. San Francisco: Strawberry Hill Press. Barrera, Cortes, CRF

Soto, G. (1990). Baseball in April. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Barrera, Yokota, CRF

Soto, G. (1990). A fire in my hands. New York: Scholastic. PO

Soto, G. (1992). Neighborhood odes. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Yokota, PO

Soto, G. (1992). Pacific crossing. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Yokota, CRF

Soto, G. (1992). Taking sides. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. CRF

Soto, G. (1992). The skirt. New York: Delacorte. CRF

Soto, G. (1993). Local news. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. CRF

Soto, G. (1993). The pool party. New York: Delacorte. CRF

Stanek, M. (1989). I speak English for my mom. Niles, IL: Whitman. Barrera, Cortes, CRF

Taylor, T. (1986). The Maldonado miracle. New York: Avon Books. Barrera, Cortes, CRF

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